ceived for the year ending the 13th of June, 1847, by the sum of \$425, 184.

at its last session to individual claimants, and fearly labor the great est and of the taxes levied on the people, not the federal government, it is but reasonathousand five hundred dollars paid for the sustained and supported. They failed to for necessary revenue purposes, but for the ble to conclude that it would have been services of the line of steamers between perceive that the scantily-fed and half-clad forward classes. Bremen and New York, amounted to four operatives were not only in abject poverty, million one hundred and ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and forty-five dollars, which is less than the annual average for who were the exclusive objects of the care the nine years previous to the act of 1845, of the government.

by three hundred thousand seven hundred It was not possib and forty-eight dollars.

ing an increase of transportation for the wealth for that of orders and titles. year of two million one hundred and twentwo hundred and thirty-five dollars.

of more than fifteen per cent. from Chagres to Panama.

Under the authority given to the Secretary of the Navy, three ocean steamers step in establishing the new system in the of the country. have been constructed and sent to the Pa- United States was the creation of a nationcific, and are expected to enter upon the al bank. Not foreseeing the dangerous mail service between Panama and Oregon, power and countless evils which such an in their operation each sustained and and the intermediate ports, on the first of institution might entail on the country, nor strengthened the others. Their joint opera-January next, and a fourth has been en- perceiving the connexion which it was de- tion was, to add new burdens of taxagaged by him for the service between Ha- signed to form between the bank and the tion and to encourage a largely increased vanna and Chagres; so that a regular other branches of the miscalled "American and wasteful expenditure of public money. monthly mail line will be kept up after system." but feeling the embarrassments It was the interest of the bank that the our territories on the Pacific-

the mail service, should the revenue con- and sounder views were induced to yield money, the larger the amount, the greater tinue to increase the present year as it did their scruples, and, indeed, settled convic- would be the bank profits by its use. It more than the expenditures.

Postmaster General that, with certain mod- sequent history and final catastrophe of greater would be their advantage. It was ifications of the act of 1845, the revenue that dangerous and corrupt institution the interest of the people of all those secmay be still further increased, and a re- have abundantly proved. The bank, with tions and localities who expected to be duction of postages made to a uniform rate its numerous branches ramified into the benefited by expenditures for internal impartment sustain itself ap postage system pecuniary lavors; thus diffusing through- distribution of the land money, had an is the best means of diffusing intelligence out the mass of society a great number of interest in having the rates of tax imposed among the people, and is of so much im- individuals of power and influence to give by the protective tariff large enough to

of our country, and prevent us from assum- -'3-'4, in opposition to the public will They had a direct interest in maintaining ing and maintaining the first rank among represented by a fearless and patriotic the public debt unpaid, and increasing its nations, but a disregard of the experience Presidentwas at that period of our history a depar- annually, and advocates the "American sytem."

for a time favored by the condition of the protect "home industry;" and many of our the government would be changed, not country; by the heavy debt which had people were for a time, led to believe that by an amendment of the constitution, but been contracted during the war; by the a tax which in the main fell upon labor, by resorting to an unwarrantable and undepression of the public credit; by the de- was for the benefit of the laborer who paid authorized construction of that instrument. ranged state of the finances and the curren- it. This branch of the system involved a The indirect mode of levying the taxes nor that of 1816, would have been chartered but cy; and by the commercial and pecuniary partnership between the government and by a duty on imports, prevents the mass of for the embarrassments of the government in its embarrassment which extensively prevailed. These were not the only causes which the proceeds of the tax imposed on articles amount they pay, and has enabled the few, the consequence of the war othe revolution, led to its establishment. The events of the war of the war with Great Britain, and the emprice of similar articles produced, at wield the political power of the country, that they would restore public creating the consequence of the war of th the war with Great Britain, and the embarrassments which had attended its prose- home, caused by such tax. It is obvious to deceive and delude them. Were the relief to the government, and to the business of cution, had left on the minds of many of that the portion to be received by the fa- taxes collected by a direct levy upon the the country. our statemen the impression that our gov. vored classes would, as a general rule, be people, as is the case in the States, this Those of our public men who oposed the ernment was not strong enough, and that increased in proportion to the increase of could not occur. to wield its resources successfully in great the rates of tax imposed, and diminished The whole system was resisted from its emergencies, and especially in war, more as those rates were reduced to the revenue inception by many of our ablest statesmen, thiefs, and must result in serious injury the This increased power they did not seek to ernment. The rates required to produce a and its expediency, while others believed obtain by the legitimate and prescribed sufficient revenue for the ordinary expendi- it was, in all its branches, a flagrant and mode—an amendment of the constitution tures of government, for necessary purpos- dangerous infraction of the constitution. into the hands of a few, who taxed and controlled the many without responsibility or restraint. In that arrangement they conceived the strength of nations in war consisted. There was also something fascinating in the ease, luxury, and display of the higher orders, who drew their wealth from the toil of the laboring millions. The political economy from what they had witnessed in Europe, and particularly in Another branch of this system was a com-

which was upheld by the restrictive policy. was a convenient and necessary adjunct such immense powers would have been

ty in the United States upon the European expedients were devised to take money from the constitution. the last year of nine thousand three hund- if not intended, to withdraw power gradutransported over them, during the same mass of the people, and by construction to penditures the greater was the pretext dent should be entitled as bearing upon the questime, forty-one million twelve thousand approximate our government to the Eurofive hundred and seventy-nine miles; mak- pean models, substituting an aristocracy of duties.

ty-four thousand six hundred and eighty ty of our institutions, and of the condition miles, whilst the expense was less than of our people and those of Europe, they that of the previous year by four thousand conceived the vain idea of building up in the United States a system similar to that to equalize exchanges, and to regulate writing" of the members of his cabinet to aid him The increase in the mail transportation which they admired abroad. Great Britain and turnish a sound currency, always and within the last three years has been five had a national bank of large capital, in everywhere of uniform value. The promillion three hundred and seventy-eight whose hands was concentrated the conthousand three hundred and ten miles, trolling monetary and financial power of whilst the expenses were reduced four the nation; an institution wielding almost to protect home industry," and furnish a hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hun- kingly power, and exerting vast influence steady market for the farmer. Internal dred and thirty-eight dollars-making an upon all the operations of trade, and upon improvements were to bring trade into being the last moment permitted him by the increase of service at the rate of fifteen the policy of the government itself. Great every neighborhood and enhance the value constitution to deliberate, when he finally yieldper cent., and a reduction in the expenses Britain had an enormous public debt, and of every man's property. The distribution f more than fifteen per cent.

During the past year there have been to regard this as a "public blessing."

of the land money was to enrich the States, finish their public works, plant schools employed, under contracts with the Post | Great Britain had also a restrictive policy, Office Department, two ocean steamers in which placed fetters and burdens on trade, from taxation. But the fact, that for every conveying the mails monthly between New and trammelled the productive industry York and Bremen, and one, since October of the mass of the nation. By her comlast, performing semi-monthly service be- bined system of policy, the landlords and tween Charleston and Havanna; and a other property-holders were protected ed classes, was carefully concealed, as contract has been made for the transporta- and enriched, by the enormous taxes, was also the tendency if not the ultimate lapse of ten days." If the proper construction tion of the Pacific mails across the isthmus which were levied upon the labor of the design of the system to build up an ariscountry for their advantage.

Notwithstanding this great increase in of our statesmen who had held different because, being the depository of the public they vainly hoped might produce relief. have the rates of that protection as high as These considerations have satisfied the It was a most unfortunate error, as the sub- possible; for the higher those rates, the of five cents, without an interference with States, soon brought many of the active provements, that the amount collected the principle, which has been constantly political and commercial men in different should be as large as possible, to the end that and properly enforced, of making that de- sections of the country into the relation of the sum disbursed might also be the largere portance in a country so extensive as that | tone to public opinion, and, to act in con- | yield a sufficient revenue from that source of the United States that I recommend to cert in cases of emergency. The corrupt to meet the wants of the government, withyour favorable consideration the sugges- power of such a political engine is no lon- out disturbing or taking from them the land tions of the Postmaster General for its im- ger a matter of speculation, having been fund; so that each of the branches condisplayed in numerous instances, but most stituting the system had a common inter-Nothing can retard the onward progress signally in the political struggles of 1832 est in swelling the public expenditures.

of the past, and a recurrence to an unwise | But the bank was but one branch of the annual increased drain upon the treasury, public policy. We have just closed a for- new system. A public debt of more than to the amount of the interest, and render eign war by an honorable peace-a war one hundred and twenty millions of dollars augmented taxes necessary. The operarendered necessary and unavoidable in existed; and it is not to be disguised that tion and necessary effect of the whole vindication of the national rights and hon- many of the authors of the new system did system were, to encourage large and exor. The present condition of the country not regard its speedy payment as essential travagant expenditures, and thereby to inis similar in some respects to that which to the public prosperity, but looked upon crease the public patronage, and maintain existed immediately after the close of the its continuance as no national evil. Whilst a rich and splendid government at the exwar with Great Britain in 1815, and the the debt existed, it furnished aliment to pense of a taxed and impoverished people. occasion is deemed to be a proper one to the national bank, and rendered increased It is manifest that this scheme of enlargtake a retrospect of the measures of public taxation necessary to the amount of the in- ed taxation and expenditures, had it conpolicy which followed that war. There terest, exceeded seven millions of dollars tinued to prevail, must soon have convert-

ture from our earlier policy. The enlarge- This operated in harmony with the next by its framers to be a plain, cheap, and ment of the powers of the federal govern- branch of the new system, which was a high simple confederation of States, united ment by construction, which obtained, was protective tariff. This was to afford boun- together for common protection, and chargnot warranted by any just interpretation of ties to favored classes and particular pur- ed with a few specific duties, relating the constitution. A few years after the suits, at the expense of all others. A pro- chiefly to our foreign affairs, into a conclose of that war, a series of measures was position to tax the whole people for the solidated empire,! depriving the States of adopted which, united and combined, con- purpose of enriching a few, was too mon- their reserved rights, and the people of stituted what was termed by their authors strous to be openly made. The scheme their just power and control in the adminwas therefore, veiled under the plausible istration of their government. In this The introduction of the new policy was but the defusive pretext of a measure to manner the whole form and character of power should be concentrated in its hands. standard required by the wants of the gov- some of whom doubted its constitutionality

hands, and had seen the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design quarter of a century, the system was overthrown. law; nor can the House of Representatives the foreign commerce of the country. This do not warrant. Is it to be conceived that favored classes.

for distributing the proceeds of the sales of inferences of power which its authors as-It was not possible to reconstruct socie- the public lands among the States. Other sumed might be deduced be construction

These several measures were sustained Without reflecting upon the dissimilari- by popular names and plausible arguments, by which thousands were deluded. The bank was represented to be an indispensa-ble fiscal agent for the government; was these doubts, that he required "the opinion in but its annual increase. tective tariff was to give employment to and Mr Randolph being opposed to the constitu-"American labor" at advanced prices,; was throughout their borders, and relieve them tory conclusion; for on that day he addressed a dollar taken out of the treasury for these objects a much larger sum was transferred the 14th inst.;" and he requested his opinion "to from the pockets of the people to the favor-Imitating this foreign policy, the first society, and monopolize the political power tion was had upon it, were both to be counted in-

were so intimately, blended together, that amount, because this would produce an

ed the government of the Union, intended

Great Britain. They had viewed the prehensive scheme of internal improvewhich it has been attempted to justify ture navigation, and commerce; of general pecuenormous wealth concentrated in few ments, capable of indefinite enlargement, each of them is derived from inferences niar; suffering, and of final bankruptcy of thouand sufficient to swallow up as many mil- and constructions of the constitution which

The mail routes, on the thirtieth day of plan. Here there was a written constitu-The mail routes, on the thirtieth day of plan. Here there was a written constituJune last, were one hundred and sixtytion, by which orders and titles were not any other source than the protective tariffany other source than the protective tariffand sixtyand prevent its coming by the acts or decrees of any one set of representations.

The tide theoly of the system is not to gove
by the acts or decrees of any one set of representations.

The tide theoly of the system is not to gove
by the acts or decrees of any one set of representations.

The tide theoly of the protections of that the national Bank, is the seductions of that the national Bank, which consists in internal improvements, holdby the acts or decrees of any one set of representations.

The tide the tide theoly of the protection internal improvements to the people of the protection internal improvements.

The tide the tide theoly of the protection of the p three thousand two hundred and eight recognised or tolerated. A system of The authors and supporters of the system combined system of measure, and that its constitutionality had been three thousand two hundred and eight measures are during the last year of nine thousand three hund
three thousand two hundred and eight measures are during the last year of nine thousand three hund
three thousand two hundred and eight measure, and that its constitutionality had been give time for error to be corrected, and delugated the last year of nine thousand three hund
three thousand two hundred and eight measure, and that its constitutionality had been give time for error to be corrected, and delugated to previously sanctioned, because a bank had been give time for error to be corrected, and delugated to previously sanctioned, because a bank had been give time for error to be corrected, and delugated to previously sanctioned the last year of nine thousand three hundred and ninety miles. The mails were
transported over them, during the same
the last year of nine thousand three hundred and ninety miles. The mails were
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the last year of nine thousand three hundred and ninety miles. The mails were
transported over them, during the same
the last year of nine thousand three hundred and ninety miles. The mails were
transported over them, during the same
transported over them, during the same transported over them.

The check the inevitable consequences.

The disturces, whether for useful disturces, which the signature of President Washington. A few facts of the system is so intimately combined and linksignature of President Washington. A few facts of the system is so intimately combined and linksignature of President Washington. A few facts of the system is so intimately combined and linksignature of President Washington.

The check the inevitable consequences of the system is so intimately co

Great division of opinion upon the subject existed in Congress. It is well known that President Washington entertained serious doubts both dent Washington entertained serious doubts both ment of a national bank, the revival of a property to public stations are of like infirmities and part to the constitutionality and expediency of the tive tariff, the distribution of the land money, to public stations are of like infirmities and part of the land money, the public stations are of like infirmities and part of the land money, the land money are of like infirmities and part of the land money. measure; and while the bill was before him for in arriving at a decision. His cabinet gave their opinion, and were divided upon the subject-Gen. Hamilton being in favor of, and Mr Jefferson known, also, that Pr sident Washington retained the bill from Monday, the 14th, when it was presented to him, until Friday the 25th of February nature. It is certain that as late as the 23d of presented to him-he had arrived at no satisfac- country note to Gen Hamilton, in which he informs him the constitution, can the President retain it in here expressed. his possession, before it becomes a law by the swer, in which he states: "I give it as my opindays; hence, in the present case, if it is returned on Friday, it will be in time." By this construc- portion of my fellow citizens. tion, which the President adopted, he gained out great and almost insuperable difficulty. Adin the last, there will be received near tions of its unconstitutionality, and to give was the interest of the favored classes, who amounting at one time to a conviction that it was nal and proceed to reconsider it. four hundred and fifty thousand dollars it their sanction, as an expedient which were enriched by the protective tariff, to his duty to withhold his approval from the bill. This is found among the manuscript papers of Mr Madison, authorized to be purchased for the sion of Congress, and now for the first time accessible to the public. From these papers, it appears that President Washington, while he yet held the bank bill in his hands, actually requested Mr Madison, at that time a member of the House of Representatives, to prepare the draught | degree lessened by the prevalence of views difof a veto message for him. Mr Madison, at his request, did prepare the draught of such a mes-Madison's own handwriting, was carefully pre- full deliberation, resolve on measures which he served by him, and is among the papers lately deems subversive of the constitution, or of the purchased by Congress. It is preceded by a note vital interests of the country, it is his solemn written on the same sheet, which is also in Mr Madison's handwriting, and is as follows:

"February 21st, 1791. Copy of a paper made out and sent to the President at his request, to be ready in case his judgment should finally decide against the bill for incorporating a national bank, the bill being then before him.

Among the objections assigned in this paper to the bill, and which were submitted for the consideration of the President, are the following: "I object to the bill, because it is an essential principle of the government that powers not del egated by the constitution cannot be rightfully exercised; because the power proposed by the bill to be exercised is not expressly delegated, and because I cannot satisfy myself that it resul's from any express power by fair and safe rules of interpretation."

The veight of the precedent of the bank of 1791, anothe sanction of the great name of Washington which has been so often invoked in its support, are greatly weakened by the development of these facts. The experiment of that bank satisfies the country that it ought not to be continued, and at the end of 20 years Congress refused to rectarter it. It would have been fortunate for the buntry, and saved thousands from bankruptcy and min, had our public men of 1816 resisted the temorary pressure of the times upon our financial ad pecuniary interests, and refused to charter the second bank. Of this the country became abandantly satisfied, and at the close of its twenty hars' duration, as in the case of the first bank, it so ceased to exist. Under the repeated blows of resident Jackson, it reeled and fell, and a substquent attempt to charter a similar institution was arrested by the veto of President Tyler.

Mr Madison, in yielding his signature to the charter of 1816, did so won the ground of the respect due to precedents; nd, as he subsequently declared, "the bank of te U. States, though, on the original question, had to be unconstitutional, received the executive signature."

It is probable that neitheathe bank of 1791

whole "American system" at its comme cement, and throughout its progress, foresaw and redicted that it was fraught with incalculate mislest interests of the country. For a serie of ears their wise counsels were unheeded, and the system was established. It was soon apparent that its practical operation was unequal and

system of finance, conducted and controlled sole-They forgot to look down upon the poorer of the protective tariff. It was to be the left by the framers of the constitution to ly by the government. The constitutional cur-The expenditures for the year, excluding a sum of \$94,672 allowed by Congress classes of the English population, upon great absorbent of any surplus which might mere inferences and doubtful constructions? at its last session to individual claimants, and including the sum of one hundred

sary as fiscal agents of the government. Revenue duties have taken the place of the protective ta-This was not done; but the whole struc- riff. The distribution of the money derived from Auxiliary to the same end, if it was not ture of which the "American system" con- and the corrupting system of internal improvevitude for the benefit of favored classes, who were the exclusive objects of the care which, at a later period obtained, the system itself, was reared on no other or better the scheme which, at a later period obtained, foundation than forced implications and influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained, foundation than forced implications and influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but these efforts have a later period obtained influences; but the later period obtained influences; but the later period obtained influences in later period obtained influences; but the later period obtained influences in later period obtained influences.

measures designed to take wealth from the many; and bestow it upon the few, were to prevail, the people of the wisdom of the checks while they have imposed, and of the checks while they have imposed to the check while they have imposed to the checks while they have the check while the checks while they have the check whi and bestow it upon the lew, were to prevail, they have imposed, and of the necessity of the second they have imposed, and of the necessity of the second they have imposed the necessity of the second they have imposed. the government. One only danger remains. It serving them unimpaired. which consists in internal improvements, in order ing out, as it does, inducements to the people of particular sections and localities to embark the particular sections and localities to embark the particular sections and localities to embark the give time for error to be corrected. produced by an adequate cause, it is be resulted which the people imposed on their public unterested and revived, and firmly established, it requires no sagacity to foresee that it will neces-sarily and speedily draw after it the re-establish-sarily and speedily draw after it the re-establishment of a national bank, the revival of a protecand not only the postponement to the distant future of the payment of the present national debt, without being restricted by co-ordinate authorities and constitutional limits for

I entertain the solemn conviction, that if the has witnessed the legislation of Congress for the internal improvement branch of the "American last thirty years will say that he knows of system" be not firmly resisted at this time, the instance in which measures not demanded by whole series of measures composing it will be public good, have been carried? Who will dent speedily re-established, and the country be in the State governments, by combination tionality and expediency of the bank. It is well thrown back from its present high state of prosperity, which the existing policy has produced, and be destined again to witness all the evils, commercial revulsions, depression of prices, and pecuniary embarrassments, through which we have passed during the last 25 years.

To guard against consequences so ruinous, is an object of high national importance, involving that absolute unchecked power is safe in February-being the ninth day after the bill was in my judgment the continued prosperity of the hands of any one set of representatives, or the

I have felt it to be an imperative obligation to withhold my constitutional sanction from two that "this bill was presented to me by the joint bills which had passed the two Houses of Concommittee of Congress at 12 o'clock on Monday, gress, involving the principle of the internal improvement branch of the "American system," what precise period, by legal interpretation of and conflicting in their provisions with the views

This power conferred upon the President by the constitution, I have on three occasions, durwas, that the day on which the bill was present- ing my administration of the executive departtocracy of wealth, to control the masses of ed to the President, and the day on which his ac- ment of the government, deemed it my duty to it would be competent for him to return it to the of the Union," it is not deemed inappropriate to The several branches of this system House in which it originated with his objections, review the principles and considerations which would expire on Thursday the 24th of February. have governed my action. I deem this the more Gen. Hamilton on the same day returned an an- necessary, because, after the lapse of nearly sixty years since the adoption of the constitution, the ion that you have ten days exclusive of that on propriety of the exercise of this undoubted conwhich the bill was delivered to you, and Sun- stitutional power by the President has for the first time been drawn seriously in question by a

The constitution provides that "every bill another day for deliberation, and it was not until which shall have passed the House of Representhat time between the United States and of the treasury, and of the business of the revenue collected and the disbursements the 25th of February that he signed the bill; tatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a country, consequent upon the war, some made by the government should be large, thus affording conclusive proof that he had at law, be presented to the President of the United and there is no appeal from their decision, but to the please the ballot box. These are proper checks upon he shall return it with his objections to that ditional light has been recently shed upon the House in which it shall have originated, who serious doubts which he had on the subject, shall enter the objections at large on their jour-

The preservation of the constitution from infraction is the President's highest duty. He is bound to discharge that duty, at whatever hazard use of the government by an act of the last ses- of incurring the displeasure of those who may differ with him in opinion. He is bound to discharge it, as well by his obligations to the people who have clothed him with his exalted trust, as by his oath of office, which he may not disregard. Nor are the obligations of the President in any ferent from his own in any one or both Houses of ate legislation that he is required to check; but 1791 A copy of this original draught, in Mr if at any time Congress shall, after apparently duty to stand in the breach and resist them. The President is bound to approve, or disapprove, every bill which passes Congress and is presented to him for his signature The constitution makes this his duty, and he cannot escape it if he would. He has no election. In deciding upon any bill presented to him, he must exercise his own best judgment. If he cannot approve, the constitution commands him to return the bill to the House in which it originated, with his objections; and if he fail to do this within ten days, (Sundays excepted,) it shall become a law without his signature Right or wrong, he may be overruled by a vote of two-thirds of each House; and, in that event, the bill becames a law without his sanction. If his objections be not thus overruled, the subject is only postponed, and is referred to the States and the people for their consideration and decision. The President's power is negative merely, and not affirmative. He can enact no law. The only effect, therefore, of his withholding his approval of bill passed by Congress, is to suffer the existing laws to remain unchanged, and the delay oc-

casioned is only that required to enable the States and the people to consider and act upon the subject in the election of public agents who will carry out their wishes and instructions. Any attempt to coerce the President to yield his sanc tion to measures which he cannot approve, would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution, palpable and flagrant; and if successful, would break down the independence of the executive department, and make the President, elected by the people, and clothed by the constitution with power to defend their rights, the mere instrument of a majority of Congress. A surrender, on his part, of the powers with which the constitution has invested his office, would effect a practical alteration of that instrument, without resorting to the prescribed process of ameud-

With the motives or considerations which may induce Congress to pass any bill, the President can have nothing to do. He must presume them to be as pure as his own, and look only to the practical effect of their measures when compared with the constitution or the public good. But it has been urged by those who object to the exercise of this undoubted constitutional power, that it assails the representative principle and the capacity of the people to govern themselves; that there is greater safety in a numerous representative body than in the single Executive created by the constitution, and that the executive veto is a "one-man power," despotic, in its character. To expose the fallacy of this objection, it is only necessary to consider the frame and true character of our system. Ours is not a consolidated empire, but a confederated Union. The States, before the adoption of the constitution, were co-ordinate, co-equal, and separate independent sovereignties, and by its adoption they did not lose that character. They —but by construction. They saw government, for necessary purpose es, were not likely to give to the private ent orders of society, and so constituted ent orders of society, and so constituted ent orders of society, and so constituted ent orders of society and so constituted ent orders of society and so constituted estimates and presents were resorted ent orders of society and so constituted entering the constitution of the proceeds of society and so constitution entering the constitution of the constitution.

That a national bank, a protective tariff, and of the process of the process of the society and so constituted entering the constitution of the country, and so constitution of the process of the country, and so constitution of the process of the country, and so constitution of the process of the country, and so constitution of the process of the country, and so constitution of the process of the country and so constitution of the society and so constitution of the country and so country and so constitution of the country and so constitution of the countr edfew by taxing labor, and at the expense of the

> ion by improped motives. They have therefore interpeed between themselves & the laws which may be passed by their public agents, various representions, such as assemblies, senates, & governors in their several States; a House of Representatiss, a Senate, & a President of the U.S. The the President a qualified negative upon the legislation of

of \$6,453, and exceeding the amount re- hands, and had seen the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design sands. After a severe struggle of more than a people can by their own direct agency make of \$6,453, and exceeding the amount re- hands, and had seen the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design sands. After a severe struggle of more than a people can by their own direct agency make of \$6,453, and exceeding the amount re- hands, and had seen the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design sands. After a severe struggle of more than a people can by their own direct agency make of \$6,453, and exceeding the amount re- hands, and had seen the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design sands. After a severe struggle of more than a people can by their own direct agency make the splendor of the lions annually as could be exacted from its letter and its whole object and design sands. After a severe struggle of more than a people can by their own direct agency make the splendor of the country. This is a constant of the splendor of the country. This is a constant of the splendor of the country of the splendor of the splendor of the splendor of the country of the splendor of the sp nor can both together, without the coucur of the President, or a vote of two thirds of

Happily for themselves, the people, in fram our admirable system of government, were ch scious of the infirmities of their representation and, in delegating to them the power of legis tion, they have fenced them around with cher to guard against the effects of hasty action combination, and of possible corruption. En selfishness, and faction have often sought tore

a firm conviction different from that of their ment. They know that the men whom they elesions with themselves, and not to be tribit ities and constitutional limitations. Who the individuals and sections, in derogation of general interest, banks have been charten systems of internal improvement adopted, debts entailed upon the people, repressing the growth, and impairing their energies for vear

After so much experience, it cannot be the capacity of the people for self-government which is admitted in its broadest extent, conclusive argument to prove the prudence, a. dom, and integrity representatives. The people by the Constitution, have commanded the President, as much as they have commanded the Lege,

tive branch of the government, to execute their sell they have said to him in the Constitution, which the require him to take a solemn oath to support that if to gress pass any bill which he cannot approve. "he shall to turn it to the House in which it originated, with his objections." In withholding from it his approval and sign ture he is executing the will of the people, constitu ly expressed, as much as the Congress that passed it presumed to be in accordance with the popular . until it shall have passed through all the branches of the government required by the Constitution to make it a law. A bill which passes the House of Representation may be rejected by the Senate; and also a bill passed in the Senate may be rejected by the House. In each o Congress, and each House of Congress, hold under Constitution, a cheek upon the President. and he. by: power of the qualified veto, a check upon Congress. When the President recommends measures to Congress, he areas in the most solemn form. his opinions; gives his voice in their favor, and pledges himself in advance to appropriate if passed by Congress. If he acts without due on sideration, or is influenced by improper or corrupt motive. or if from any other cause. Congress or either House of Congress, shall differ with him in opinion, they exercise THEIR VETO upon his recommendations, and reject the xecutive. wisely interposed by the Constitution. Non will be found to object to them, or to wish them removed it is equally important that the constitutional checks

branch of Congress are chosen directly by the people its answered, the people elect the President. represent the States and the people, so does the President The President recommends in the Executive department the whole people of the United States, as each members the Legislative department represents portions of them. The doctrine of restriction upon legislative and execuwithin a reasonable time to accomplish its ends, has made our country what it is, and has opened to us a career of

the Executive upon the Legislative branch should be pre-

glory and happiness to which all other nations have been strangers.
In the avereise of the power of the veto, the President's responsible not only to an enlightened public opinion but to the people of the whole union, who elected him, as he representatives in the legislative branches, who differ with him in opinion. are responsible to the people of particular States or districts, who compose their respective constitu encies. To deny to the President the exercise of the per er, would be to repeal that provision of the constitution which confers it upon him. To charge that its exercise unduly controls the legislative will, is to complain of the

If the Presidential veto be objected to upon the groun that it checks and thwarts the public will, upon the same principle, the equality of representation of the States in the Senate should be stricken out of the constitution. The vote of a senator from Delaware has equal weight in der ding upon the most important measures with the vote of a senator from New York; and yet the one represents State containing, according to the existing apportionment of representatives, but one thirty-fourth part of the population lation of the other. By the constitutional composition of the Senate, a majority of that body from the smaller State represent less than one-fourth of the people of the Union There are thirty States; and under the existing appearance tionment of representatives, their are two hundred anthirty members in the House of Representatives Sixteen of the smaller States are represented in that House by but fifty members; and yet the senators from these States constitute a majority of the Senate. So that the President may recommend a measure to Congress, and it may sanction and approval of more than threeourths of the House of Representatives, and of all the enators from the large States, containing more than three senators from the large States, containing more than three-fourths of the whole population of the United States; and yet the measure may be defeated by the votes of the sena-tors from the smaller States. None, it is presumed, can be found ready to change the organization of the Senate on this account, or to strike that body practically out of existence, by requiring that its action shall be conformed to the will of themore numerous branch.

Upon the same principle that the veto of the President should be practically abolished, the power of the Vice President to give the casting vote upon an equal division of the Senate should be abolished also. The Vice President the Senate should be abolished also. The Vice President exercises the veto power as effectually by rejecting a oill by his casting vote, as the President does by refusing to approve and sign it. This power has been exercised by the Vice President in a few instances, the most important of which was the rejection of the bill to recharter the bank of the United States in 1811. It may happen that a bill may be passed by a large majority of the House of Representatives, and may be supported by the senators from the larger States, and the Vice President may reject it by giving his vote with the senators from the smaller States: ing his vote with the senators from the smaller States and yet none it is presumed are prepared to deny to him the exercise of this power under the constitution.

But it is, in point of fact, untrue that an act passed by ongress is conclusive evidence that it is an emanation of the popular will. A majority of the whole number elected to each house of Congress constitutes a querum, and a majority of that quorum is competent to pass laws. It might happen that a quorum of the House of Representatives, consisting of a single member more than half of the whole number elected to that House, might pass a bill by a majority of a single vote, and in that case a fraction more than jority of a single vote, and in that case a fraction more con-one-fourth of the people of the United States would be re-presented by those who voted for it. It might happen that the same bill might be passed by a majority of one, of a quorum of the Senate, composed of senators from the fifeen smaller States, and a single senator from a sixteenth State, and if the senators voting for it happened to be from the eight of the smallest of these States, it would be passed by the votes of senators from States having but fourteen representatives in the House of Representatives, and con taining less than one-sixteenth of the whole population of the United States. This extreme case is stated to illustrate the fact that the mere passage of a bill by Congress is no conclusive evidence that those who passed it represent the majority of the people of the United States, or truly reflect their will. If such an extreme case is not likely to happen, cases that approximate it are of constant occur-rence. It is believed that not a single law has been passed since the adoption of the constitution, upon which all the members elected to both houses have been present and voted. Many of the most important acts which have pass, ed Congress have been carried by close vote in thin houses. Many instances of this might be given. Indeed, our experience proves that many of the most important acts of Congress are postponed to the last days, and often the last hours of a session, when they are disposed of in haste, and by houses but little exceeding the number necessary to

form a quorum.

Besides, in most of the States the members of the House of Representatives are chosen by pluralities, and not by majorities of all the voters in their respective districts;

majorities of all the voters in their respective districts; and it may happen that a majority of that House may be returned by a less aggregate vote of the people than that received by the minority.

If the principle insisted on be sound, then the constitution should be so changed that no bill shall become a law unless it is voted for by members representing in each House a majority of the whole people of the United States We must remodel our whole system, strike down and sholish not only the salutary checks lodged in the executive branch, but must strike out and abolish those lodged in the Senate also, and thus practically invest the whole power of the government in a majority of a single assembly—a majority uncontrolled and absolute, and which may become despotic. To conform to this doctrine of the right of majorities to rule, independent of the checks, and limitations of the constitution, we must revolutionize our whole system. We must destroy the constitutional compact by which the several States agreed to form a federal Union, and rush into consolidation, which must end in monarchy or despotism. No one advocates such a proposition: and yet the doctrine maintained, if carried out, must lead to this result.

One great object of the constitution in conferring upon to this result.